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The Government of Egypt under Mehemet Ali

History

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THE GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT

UNDER

MEHEMET ALI

BY

FREDERICK CURTIS SWANSON

THESIS

FOR THE

DEGREE OF BACHELOR OF ARTS

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The Government of Egypt under Mehemet Ali.

Introduction.

The Rise of Mehemet Ali.

One of the names which dazzled the minds of men during the first half of the nineteenth century was that of Mehemet Ali. His aims and purposes in the rejuvenation of the political and economic life of Egypt were entirely misunderstood and misinterpreted on all sides; this can be accounted for by his rapid rise to the throne of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemes, which can only be compared, in European History, with that of Cromwell and Napoleon. The eventful and romantic career which brought him from the rank of a peasant to that of a prince cast a magic spell over his contemporaries and left them unable to pass sane judgments as to the relative as well as the lasting benefits which his régime conferred on Egypt. The great political changes which took place during his reign, whereby he became an almost independent Prince, not only affected the future history of Egypt itself, but also caused great upheavals in the councils of European diplomats and statesmen. An examination of the machinery of his government reveals a series of most interesting political reforms which Mehemet Ali was able to effect and which were continued by his successors with inconsiderable changes.

No government is wholly uninfluenced by the character of the reigning sovereign, and in the case of Egypt, where absolutism was virtually supreme, it is perfectly evident that the personality of Mehemet Ali was by no means nugatory in the multiplicity of details connected with governmental administration.

In order to appreciate more fully the character of the Pasha, a brief sketch of his active career is essential. Of Albanian descent, he was born at Kavalla, a small city on the coast of Foumelia, in 1769. His father was an agha or yeoman farmer who united with his agrarian occupation that of fisherman. Mehemet soon made for himself a reputation in Kavalla for bravery, when he lead a company of volunteers who recovered some spoil which a band of pirates had seized in the immediate neighborhood(1). This brought him into the good graces of the governor, who made him his lieutenant. When the governor died he "succeeded to his command, his widow, and his wealth."(2) He was engaged extensively as a trader in tobacco until 1798, when Napoleon's expedition to Egypt gave him his opportunity. A regiment of Albanian Bashi-Bazuks were recruited in his neighborhood and he was made second in command.(3) During the course of the battle of Aboukir he was driven into the sea with the routed Turks, but was saved from drowning by the gig of the British Admiral Sir Sidney Smith. In 1801 he returned to Egypt in command of a troop of cavalry and soon won distinction by his gallant charges at the battle of Rahmanieh.

During the struggle between the Mamelukes and the representatives of the Porte which followed the departure of the French, Mehemet Ali made the most of his opportunities as a leader of a compact body of Albanian clansmen. In 1803 he sided with the Mamelukes but the next year he was found fighting for the

(1) Warburton, Crescent and Cross, 344.
Cambridge Modern History, X, 549.
(2) Warburton, Crescent and Cross. loc. cit.
(3) Cambridge Modern History. loc. cit.

Porte. In 1805 the Sheiks of Cairo elected him Pasha. This election was confirmed by a long delayed firman of the Sultan in 1806. Five years later occurred the terrible massacre of the Mamelukes. Before his departure to the Holy war against the Wahabis, soon to be described, he invited the Mamelukes to a conference in the citadel, where almost all of them were murdered on March 1, 1811. This removed the last peril to the security of his authority and the advancement of his own purposes and intents. The foundations for the empire which he was to build were laid by the war against the Wahabis. The founder of this sect was Sheik Abd - el -Wahab. The relation of the Wahabis to Mohamedanism was somewhat similar to that of the Puritans to the English church. Inflamed with fanatical zeal for the advancement of their faith, they took possession of Medina in 1811. The Sultan dispatched Mehemet Ali to exterminate this sect, hoping thereby to diminish the Pasha's resources and weaken his growing power. Mehemet made use of this opportunity to pose as a defender of Islam and at the same time raise a large army which he could use ultimately to further his own designs. The Viceroy's son, Toussoun, was appointed a Pasha of two tails and given authority to lead the expedition. It was upon his departure that the massacre of the Mamelukes already referred to, occurred. The next year Mehemet Ali went to the Hedjaz. His purpose in going seems to have been to give him an opportunity to complete the confiscation of all the land of Egypt, which he had announced in 1808.

During his absence the Porte appointed as his successor Lateif Pasha who, however, was murdered by one of the Albanian Pasha's lieutenants. The crime caused the Porte to declare Mehemet

an outlaw but this he disregarded. He continued his warlike operations in the Holy Land and returned home after a successful campaign. The rest of his career is well known, especially the Syrian campaign under his son Ibrahim and the interference of the European powers in preventing him from seizing the Turkish throne itself.(1)

The character of Mehemet Ali reveals a strange and incongruous mixture of the Oriental and the Occidental. He was very acute in preception, with a mind that knew how to turn matters to his own advantage. He had an infinite love for detail which led him to pry into the mysteries of innumerable enterprises. For this reason he has been aptly characterized as an "homme a projets".(2) An indefatigable worker, his mind seems never to have suffered from mental fatigue. It can hardly be said that he was mean or paltry, nor did he abuse his power by wreaking vengeance on his enemies. He seems to have had two great ideas which he attempted to carry out in the course of his reign; first, the complete independence of Egypt from the Porte; second, the rehabilitation of Egyptian economic life.

(1) Warburton, Crescent and Cross, 349, 350.
(2) Scott, ii, 105.

Chapter I.

The Pasha and the Councils. The civil administration of the court.

Mehemet Ali as a Pasha of Egypt professed allegiance to the Sultan of Turkey to whom he remitted a yearly tribute of £ 60,000.(1) Although he posed as an absolute ruler, yet as in the case of every country where absolutism is nominally supreme, there were certain checks on his power and certain influences which tended to diminish his apparently unlimited authority. He was obliged to respect the laws of the Koran and the Traditions. (2) Although he had absolute power over the life and death of his subjects, his unbounded ambition for the praise of men and his desire to play the part of a beneficent ruler kept him from committing any untoward acts of wanton cruelty. In order to carry on effectively and efficiently the various functions of government, a number of ministerial departments were created. These included the departments of war, foreign affairs, finance, marine, commerce, etc., each with its titular head. A large number of Copts were connected with these departments, acting in the various capacities of secretaries and clerks.(3) A council was placed over the whole administration of the state. It was composed of thirty or forty principal officers and ministers of state and met at the summons of Mehemet Ali. All acts of the Pasha were submitted to this body before being promulgated. The council was a permanent body but its functions were deliberative only.(4) Discussion was limited

(1) Mengin, ii, 389.
(2) Lane, 113.
(3) Mouriez, iii, 57.
(4) Scott, ii, 116.

to those acts which were laid before it, and no act could originate with the council. This council was called Meglis el - Meshwarah (the Council of Deliberation) or Meglis el - Meshwarah el Melekeeyeh (the Council of Deliberation on the Affairs of State) (1).

Besides this council, there were three others, the Meglis el - Gihádeeyeh (the Council of the Army), the Council of the Tarskhaneh, or Navy, and the Deewán et-Tuggár (or Court of the Merchants). The last named court was composed of merchants of various countries and religions and was presided over by the Shah-Bandar (or chief of the merchants of Cairo). It was concerned with those business transactions where the laws of the Koran and the Sunneh were found to be insufficiently explicit.(2)

The court of the Viceroy was made up of a number of officials of greater and lesser importance. In the Citadel of Cairo was located a court of civil administration called the"ed-Deewán el-Khideewee". This court was presided over, in the Viceroy's absence by the Kiâya - Bey or deputy, (Habeeb Effendi). All cases which did not fall under the jurisdiction of the Kadi or to another council were decided by the President of the Deewán el-Khideewee. A person accused of assault, theft or other minor misdemeanor was taken in charge by one of the soldiers connected with the numerous guard houses stationed in various parts of the city. The prisoner was taken to the chief guard-house, where the charges were stated and placed in writing. From this place the soldier conducted the accused to the Zabit or chief magistrate of the police. The Zabit, after hearing the case, sent the prisoner for trial to the Deewan

(1) Lane, 115.
(2) Ibid.

el-Khideewee. It was the usual custom to bastinado accused persons, when the evidence was insufficient to convict. The penalty inflicted on convicts was labor in the public works such as digging canals etc. Crimes committed against the Pasha such as theft etc. were usually punished by death.(1)

Various other officials were attached to the court of the viceroy, only a few of whom can be mentioned here. The Devan Effendi was placed in charge of food-stuffs which were to be sold to foreign countries. To the Khaznadar was entrusted the keeping of the accounts of the receipts and expenditures.

The Anaktar-aghassi acted as director of the government storehouse, i.e. the officer in charge of the key. The commandant of the Citadel was charged with the merchandise which was sold either for exportation or for local consumption. All these officials received salaries of no trifling amounts. All those who had served in these official capacities remained members of the court. They had certain privileges and exercised a certain influence upon governmental activities. They were often present at the council of the Pasha and took part in the deliberations.(2)

(1) Lane, 114 - 115. Mengin ii, 258.
(2) Mengin, ii, 225.

Chapter II.
Finance.

Astudy of the fiscal system which prevailed under the régime of Mehemet Ali would form in itself a long and interesting account. It is somewhat difficult to arrive at an accurate statement of the Pasha's revenue, since estimates made by competent authorities vary greatly because of the fact that no comprehensible system of administering finance in Egypt existed. "The administration of the finance is a complete and incomprehensible chaos, nor are any efforts made to remedy the disorder. The accounts are all kept by Copts, who are the only people capable of doing it; but they are universally rogues and thieves, and the accounts are kept in such a way that, although Mehemet Ali has a positive conviction that he is cheated by them, he cannot discover in what manner."(1)

The principal sources of revenue were the direct taxes on land, the indirect exactions from the fellaheen, customs dues, the tax on palm trees, and the sale of various products of the land by which the government received a profit of fifty per cent or more. The direct tax on land amounted to about $2 per feddan(2), according to the quality of the soil. The most fertile lands paid ordinarily a tax to the value of from $2.80 to $3.20 per feddan. The cultivator was obliged to pay certain indirect exactions levied on his produce, which varied in different years. It was always levied per feddan and included such articles as butter, honey, wax,

(1) Report from Consul-General Campbell quoted in Cameron, Egypt in Nineteenth Century, 173.
(2) A feddan is nearly equivalent to an English acre. It was reduced by Mehemet Ali from an acre and a tenth. Clot-Bey. ii, 191.

wool, baskets of palm trees, palm leaves and ropes made of the fibres of the palm leaves. The cultivator was obliged to pay the hire of the camel which conveyed his grain to the government shooneh (or granary). The government also took a portion of the produce and sometimes the whole of it, usually at a fixed and fair price.(1)

In 1808 a new system was introduced into the territorial administration of the land of Egypt. In order to understand the far reaching effects which this change made in the finances of the Pasha, it is necessary to consider briefly the theory of the tenure of property which had existed up to that time. The prophet, Mohammed, imbued with Oriental ideas, had declared, "The land belongs to God and to the sovereign who is His representative". His successors all contended that the right to individual property emanated from the sovereign. When Amrou made himself master of Egypt, the Caliph Omar ratified the titles of property as they existed at the time of the conquest. Transmission of property was to take place hereditarily, subject to a certain fine of alienation. This system of holding property continued under the Caliphs as well as under the Circassian Sultans, nor was it changed until the time of the Turkish conquest. Selim I. declared that titles to property belonged to the sovereign and that proprietors were privileged to enjoy only the usufruct of the land. The heirs of an individual could, however, secure possession of a piece of property by paying a certain fixed sum. The successors of Selim delegated the financial administration of Egypt to a defterdar, who kept a register of all lands. This system of land holding disappeared when the

(1) Lane, 133.

Mamelukes came into power for they disposed of lands at their will. (1) At the time of the French expedition, land was divided up somewhat as follows: The greater portion was in the possession of the Mameluke and the government; another portion was divided among 6,000 proprietors called moultezims; the remainder was made up of pious donations to the mosques known as vaqfs and rizags.(2) The moultezims possessed two kinds of property. The one, called "peasant land" was cultivated by the fellahs who paid the tax on it; the other, known as "oussieh" was acquired by the moultezim thru purchase, and was cultivated for his own benefit.(3) The majority of villages possessed a portion of these lands known as oussieh which had been secured from fellahs who died without heirs. They were ceded for a small sum to the moultezims, who thereby became owners of the land. These transactions were generally authorized by the government, which compelled the new proprietors to help pay for certain public expenses such as raods, improvements, etc.

The land of the villages was divided into 24 or 25 quirats. Each one of these parts had a moultezim for a proprietor and it happened oftentimes that one moultezim possessed several villages. Such an intricate relationship had been set up between the two kinds of land held by the moultezims that they refused to sell the"peasant land" without at the same time selling a portion of the oussieh. The property of a moultezim could not be transmitted absolutely to his children or his heirs by will.

(1) After the Turkish conquest, the Mamelukes shared the government with the Turks.
(2) Clot-Bey, ii, 179
(3) Ibid, 180
(4) Mengin, ii, 339

The investiture of the Pasha was necessary to place them in full possession of their rights.(1)

Whem Mehemet Ali came into power he found it necessary to increase his revenue and it was therefore natural that he should try several new taxes. These proved to be unsuccessful. A palace revolution had recently put Mahmoud II on the Turkish throne and in order to obtain an adequate revenue the Divan exacted with rigor rigor the annual yearly tribute from Egypt. The Mameluke proprietors refused to pay some of the newly devised taxes. Various reforms and improvements called for additional sums of money.(2) Then it was (1808) that Mehemet placed an effendi in charge of verifying all titles to property. The Pasha found it very convenient to revert to the system of regal ownership as it had existed in the time of Selim I. (1517). The documents of the land owners were seized and declared null and void as well as all title deeds found in existence. In order to carry out his reforms in the provinces he appointed 14 moudirs or directors who began a cadastre of the cultivated soil, estimating the number of acres to each village. The moudir in turn appointed a head man of every village known as the omdeh who was responsible for the total amount of taxes from his vallage. The omdeh usually distributed the land to such fellaheen as he chose, each of whom was required to pay the allotted amount of taxes levied on the particular piece of land which he held. As long as the fellah paid the

(1) Clot-Bey. ii, 180.
(2) Jomard, ii, 11-12.

taxes he was permitted to remain on the land and eke out a miserable existence. He was always at the mercy of his omdeh. The moudirs and omdehs often seized large tracts from the villagers whom they ejected, killing many of them and causing many to disappear.(1) The Pasha himself was in the habit of giving away or leasing large estates to his favorites. When he found it inconvenient to pay a claimant the money he owed him, he would give half the money and five or six villages.(2)

In return for the property which had been seized, the Pasha granted an annual pension equivalent to the revenue which the moultezims had enjoyed, according to the verification made on the registers of the rusnameji (3). As has been mentioned, each village was divided into twenty-four parts called qyratts. The verification of titles to property generally gave a quantity twice the amount which had formerly been recognized by the fisc. This increase was due to the fact that the moultezims in their real estate transactions had calculated by qyratts instead of feddans(4).

Not only did Mehemet Ali quash the titles of the moultezims but he also abolished the rizaqs or pious foundations of the mosques, giving the sheiks annual pensions. The Pasha himself assumed the expense connected with religious instruction and teaching(5). The vakf or property in "mortmain" bequeathed to the Ulema for religious and charitable uses was also confiscated, despite the vigorous protest of the Ulema. The sacred principle of the vakf was not abolished

(1) Cameron, 86-87
(2) Martineau, Eastern Life, 249.
(3) Mengin, ii, 337.
(4) Ibid
(5) Clot-Bey, ii, 182

but the Ulema were deprived of the privilege of administering its revenues. The Pasha asserted that he was the nominee of the Sultan and that the latter was the sole and ultimate guardian of such estates.(1) This action made him exceedingly unpopular with the religious and professional sects, especially with the Nazirs of the mosques.

In addition to the forms of taxation already mentioned, there were several other taxes which yielded revenues of varying amounts. A personal income tax called firdet-il-rouss was fixed at one twelfth of the supposed income of the individual. All adult male Mussulmen or Raias were subject to it from the age of twelve. The amount varied with the rank and condition of the individual. In the larger cities and towns it was levied on individuals, while in the villages it was levied on houses. It constituted about one sixth of the Pasha's total revenue.(2)

The Raias also paid a particular tax called kharaj, a tax which aimed to follow out one of the principles of the Koran by subjecting all infidels to tribute.(3) There was also a tax on palm trees which was rated according to the qualities of the tree. It generally amounted to one and a half piastres a tree.(4) Cattle and oxen were also taxed, as well as camels and sheep.(5)

The indirect taxes were made up of custom duties which were collected on merchandise imported into Egypt. These duties were stipulated in the capitulations and treaties with foreign

(1) Cameron, 84
(2) Clot-Bey, ii, 191.
(3) Ibid.
(4) Lane, 134.
(5) Ibid.

powers. The government farmed out the duties and tolls, since it found this system to its advantage, in not being required to maintain a special administrative service for this purpose. The concessionaires were for the most part Turks, Copts, and Armenians who formed among themselves a loose organization or society.(1)

One great source of revenue was the vast system of monopolies which existed in Egypt. This system was extended to include nearly all productions of the soil as well as many other products which passed through the country by way of transit. The peasant or cultivator of the soil delivered his produce to one of the government shoonahs located in every part of the country. Here the produce was weighed or measured and an order issued on the treasury in payment at a price fixed by the council. The peasants were in the habit of paying their taxes out of this check, which was received at its face value by the government. Rather than make application to the dilatory treasury for payment, the fellah would often sell the balance of his check at a discount varying from twenty five to thirty per cent. As the goods were wanted from time to time, they were shipped to Cairo and there disposed of at a price which gave the government a profit. The Pasha was often obliged to sell on credit, and at times to suffer a loss from bankrupt Europeans. In August, 1816, he sold a million bushels of wheat first at 62 cents and then at 87 cents per bushel. Ships of all lands flocked to Alexandria because of the news of a bad harvest on the continent. The price of wheat rose to $1.35. The crops were not ready for exportation; consequently the ships

(1). Lane, 134

were forced to remain idle and the price fell. Many merchants then found themselves in debt and unable to pay. Great amounts of corn lay rotting in barns for want of purchasers. At the same time the fellaheen were starving in the country.(1) Salt was also made a monopoly but the prohibitive tax on it caused a sharp decrease in the wonted consumption of that article. In order to check this the Pasha hit upon a most ingenious scheme. He sent boats laden with salt to villages, and at each village a certain amount was heaped up. The officer in charge of the vessel than called upon the Shiek el-Beled of the village and informed him that the Pasha had taken the liberty of sending them an amount corresponding to that consumed in a previous year. Each community would be responsible to the government for the value of the salt, whether consumed or not. In 1831 an attempt was made to monopolize the coffee trade with Yemen. The result of this was to stop the supply of that article, where previously the market had been abundantly supplied. It became necessary to suspend the prohibitions against the importation of coffee from the west. As a consequence American and Mocha coffee was imported from Europe at a duty of two piastres per oke (42 oz.). The Pasha not only lost all transit duties but was also obliged to pay the heavy custom duty of one pound sterling per cantar(2). The monopoly price of Mocha was fixed at about twenty to twenty five dollars per cantar. In

(1) Cameron, 125.
(2) The cantar (or hundredweight) is from 98 lbs. minus 200 grains to about 98 lbs. and three quarters, avoirdupois.

order to command a sufficient supply he was compelled to send specie dollars for the purchase money and to place his orders many months in advance. The retail trade was thus engrossed by the Pasha, who regarded himself as the only legitimate coffee dealer in Egypt.(1)

The appended list is given as an estimate of the Pasha's revenues and expenditures for the year 1821. This can only be regarded as a rough estimate since no budget in the European sense of the term was kept until forty years later. In 1838 Consul-General Campbell of England referred to the "complete and incomprehensible chaos" of the financial system,(2)

The Pasha's Revenue, 1821.(3)

Total Receipts	$6,000,000
Receipts from the land tax (miry)	3,300,000
Customs Duties	440,000
Salt	35,000
Fisheries	25,000
"Little Treasury" (money derived from articles bought of peasants and sold by the government at a profit)	500,000

The rest was made up of monopolies on ivory, incense etc.; $100,000 gained on 4,000 cwt. of safranum bought at $3.75 per cwt. and sold at $50;$420,000 on 600,000 bushels of wheat, beans, maize and peas purchased at about twenty five cents per bushel.

(1) Scott, ii, 431-437
(2) Cameron, 173.
(3) Mengin, ii, 384.

The Pasha's Expenditures, 1821.

Pay of 20,000 Albanians and other irregulars	$2,500,000
Pasha's Civil List	600,000
Pay of Civilian employees, workmen etc.	775,000
Annual tribute to the Sultan	300,000
Building palaces, barracks, factories etc.	250,000
Compensation for vakfs and land seized	225,000
Mecca Caravan, or Mahmal	50,000
Reclaiming land, cultivation of silkworms etc.	35,000
	5,000,000

An examination of the revenues for the year 1833 reveals the following figures.(1)

Revenues 1833.

Receipts	$12,500,000
Miry or tax on real estate	5,625,000
Capitation - Income tax	1,750,000
Cereals	900,000
Custom duties and tolls	1,014,100
Monopoly on grain, ivory etc.	2,400,000

The remainder of the revenue was made up of miscellaneous items such as income derived from dancers and musicians, the tax on beasts about to be killed, the sale of manufactured articles etc.

The expenditures for the same period includes the following items.

Annual tribute to the Porte	$ 300,000
Army (150,000)	3,000,000
Salaries of the principal officers	1,000,000
Payment of the Turkish cavalry (irregular)	162,000
War material	350,000
Rations, provender, mules, camels	60,000
Military school	40,000
Marine	1,500,000
Instruments of war	375,000
Cost of wood yard for construction of vessels	82,500
Factories and salaries of workers	550,000
Employes of the administration	540,000
Rations for employes	125,000

(1) Clot-Bey, ii, 195-196.

Pensions to former moultezims	£ 88,000
Pensions to Seniral Arabs	150,000
For construction of palace, bridges, canals etc.	450,000
Pay for officials from Europe for the factories	375,000
Palace of the Viceroy	250,000
For purchase of cashmeres, silks, etc	350,000
Caravans of pilgrims	50,000
Living expenses of Viceroy	100,000
	9,990,300

It is thus evident that in twelve years the revenues andexpenditures of Egypt were almost exactly doubled.

Chapter III

The Army and Navy.

Mehemet Ali early in his career recognized the need of a superior fighting force if his plans were to be fullfilled. He soon saw the superiority of European armies and methods of training over the crude native troops. Since he could not employ Albanians and Turks for fear that they would revolt, he determined to enroll negroes from Kordofan and Sennovar. In January, 1823, the first six regiments were formed under the command of surviving Mamelukes who were employed as officers. During the entire year of 1823 and up until the month of June, 1824, these troops were drilled with the idea of perfecting their efficiency. However, great numbers of them died, unable to stand the strenuous activities of military life, and the Egypian climate. Finally Mehemet Ali decided to organize an army by recruiting his troops from among the Egyptians. This proved to be more successful. The fellahs who were enlisted lived under better conditions and were better fed and clothed than ever before. When the organization of the army had been somewhat perfected, the Pasha summoned several European officers, among whom were General Boyer, Col. Godin, Col. Seve and others. Of these men the work of Col. Seve was probably the most important in the reorganization of the army. Born at Lyons in the year 1788, he began his active career as a sailor and fought against the English at the battle of Trafalgar. He became a hussar, saw active service on the continent of Europe, and was appointed an aide-de-camp of Marshall Ney and Grouchy. In 1819 he went to Egypt where he soon became an army instructor. He rose rapidly in the Egyptian service

and was made a bey (colonel) with a salary of £1,600 a year.(1) The Viceroy furnished him with five hundred of his Mamelukes for the purpose of instructing them in the manual of arms and the school of the batallion. This body became the nucleus of the Egyptian army. Great difficulties were encountered, however, in disciplining and instructing them. The Mamelukes (2) were by nature proud and haughty and this coupled with their intense hatred of Christians made it hard for them to obey the commands of Christian officers. The regularity of military evolutions and the strict rules regarding silence in the ranks displeased many. Plots were formed against the life of Col. Seve but were frustrated.

A school of infantry was founded at Damietta for the purpose of training young men in military routine, and enabling them upon completing the course to enter the regular army as officers. The number of men enrolled in the school was bout 400. The course of study embraced such subjects as military tactics, manoeuvers, military administration, and the Turkish, Arabic and Persian languages. The school was under the direction of a Piedmontese officer, named Bolognini, who was made lieutenant-colonel because of the surprising success which he had(3).

The artillery school was formed at the same time as the infantry, and European instructors were summoned to Egypt. Ibrahim-Pasha, upon his return from the Morea, where he had seen the advantages of the well disciplined artillery of the French was instrumen-

(1) Cameron, 130.
(2) The word mamelukes of memlooks was used for slave.
(3) Clot-Bey, ii, 204.

tal in bringing about its organization. The school was located at Tourah, and placed in charge of Col. Sequera, who had formerly been an officer in the Spanish service. French, Italian, English, Drawing and Trigonometry, Algebra, Mechanics, Design, etc. were taught by European instructors as well as the traditional subjects of Turkish and Arabic. The total attendance was between three and four hundred. Because of the insistent demand of the Pasha for men in the army who had had some training, the pupils were drawn out before they had completed their course; hence they were poorly prepared.

A school of cavalry was established at Gizeh in the ancient palace of Mourad-Bey.(1) It was composed of 360 young men who were organized into three squadrons. Lieutenant-Colonel Varin, a former aide-de-camp of Marshal Gouvron, Governor of Saint Cyr was in command. The students for the most part were Turks, Georgians and Circassians, who were regarded as the personal property of Mehemet Ali and therefore subject to his will and disposition. Such subjects were taught as Turkish, Arabic, Persian, French, Military Tactics, etc.

A school of engineers was located at Kahanka. About a hundred young men were selected for training from those who had distinguished themselves in the preparatory schools. They were taught surveying, the art of fortification, methods of attack and defense etc. The school was generously supplied with all necessary apparatus including a large model of a fortified place on Cormontagne's system. The mem were often drafted into the active service

(1) St. John, ii, 399; Clot-Bey, ii, 205.

immaturely.(1)

The administration of the whole army was modeled after that of the French. The same rules and ordinances governed the conduct of the Egyptian armies, and the same ranks and grades of advancement and the same tactics were employed. The supplies, armament, equipment, etc. were in the hands of the minister of war, who drew out from the magazines of war such articles as were needed from time to time(2). Each regiment was ordinarily supposed to have the personnel and equipment necessary to form a hospital corps. The total strength of the army consisted of more than 100,000 regulars(3), and 50,000 irregulars.(4).

One of the most deplorable things connected with the administration of the army was the vicious and inhuman system of recruitment. It was the custom for a company of soldiers to approach a village and forcibly sieze as many men as they could. The men, followed by their weeping mothers, wives and children, were then conducted to a physician who selected those most fitted for military service. So great was the aversion to the army that the more able men would flee from the villages upon learning of the approach of the recruiting companies. This action necessitated the drafting of the physically poor and unfit into the service.(5) The wives and children of the men who had enlisted in the army were often condemned to a life of squalor and poverty. Such women were often forced to eke out a wretched existence with the wages of

(1) St. John, ii, 400
(2) Clot-Bey, ii, 208
(3) Cameron, 131; Clot-Bey, ii, 239.
(4) Clot Bey, ii, 221
(5) Clot-Bey, ii, 239.

humiliation and vice.(1) The husbands upon their return would find their families broken up and scattered. The Arabs in their horror of the army would even go so far sometimes as to mutilate their children to prevent their being enlisted. Some attempts were made to reform the system of recruitment but with little success(2).

The development of commerce led Mehemet Ali to see the need for an Egyptian fleet. It was also his ambition to overthrow the Porte by sea as well as by land. His first squadron was made up of second hand vessels purchased in European ports, particularly those of France and England. This squadron was for the most part destroyed at the battle of Navarino. In 1828 the Pasha engaged M. de Cerisy, and entrusted to him the task of building a fleet. He was also placed in charge of the construction of an arsenal at Alexandria. He soon collected carpenters, mechanics and other workmen and by January 3, 1831, a vessel of 100 cannons was launched. By 1832 the Pasha possessed eight battleships and fifteen frigates and corvettes, carrying in all 1300 guns and 12,000 sailors.

All the workmen in the navy yard were enlisted in the service either as sailors or soldiers. They were drilled occasionally. Their wages amounted to 30 piastres a month in addition to food and clothing. The artisans received higher wages according to their merit. Most of them were married and if they had sons the government allowed them 15 piastres for each, provided the child was brought to receive the money in his own hand. The wives often assisted in the support of the family by engaging in some kind of trafficking or huckstering(3). The day's work for both

(1) St.John, ii, 176.
(2) Clot-Bey, ii, 239.
(3) Burckhardt, Egypt and Nubia, 25.

artisans and workmen lasted from sunrise to sunset; they received three meals a day. All the artisans were given meat once a week and the troops, once a month.(1)

A naval school was located at Alexandria with an approximate attendance of 200 students, who for the most part were drafted from the College at Kassirlyne and from the school of Artillery at Tourra. They received instruction is shipbuilding and in the preparatory branches of the sciences connected with that art. None but Arabs were employed in the construction of the line-of-battle ships.(2) There were schools on almost all the ships of war. For example, on the flagship there were eighty youths studying the principles of nautical science and closely allied subjects under the instruction of French and Italian teachers. These men were destined to become the future officers of the new ships which the Pasha was to construct.(3)

(1)Burckhardt, Egypt and Nubia, 26.
(2) St John, ii, 405
(3) St. John ii, 406

Chapter IV.

Laws.

The source of Egyptian laws was found in the Mohammedan religion. The civil and criminal laws were drawn principally from the Koran. In cases where this book did not make possible a decision, the judge usually decided according to one of four classes of religious traditions.(1) 1. The Sunneh. This included a recital of the actions and words of the prophet. Cases were decided not only by the precepts which the prophet had given in regard to certain acts but according to the silence he observed on other occasions. 2. The oral laws which were recognized in the first three centuries of Mohammedism. The great respect paid to this epoch is based on these words of Mohammed, "My century is the best, the most blessed of all centuries; the second will be less; and the third still less, and will be followed by the propagation of falsehood and error." Certain other oral laws were observed which were a species of customary law. 3.A collection of the criticisms and interpretations of the first disciples of the prophet. 4. A collection of the decisions (canonical) pronounced by the"imams" of the first centuries, especially the four great"imams" who were the founders of the four orthodox sects,(2) the Hanafites, the Shafiites, the Malekites and the Hambelites, who took their names from the respective doctors whose tenets they have adopted.(3)

Criminal and penal laws covered six classes of crime, each of which will be described in some detail. The law regarding blasphemey was very severe. Any person who uttered blasphemy against

(1) Jomard, iii, 37.
(2) Clot-Bey, i, 519
(3) The inhabitants of Cairo were, for the most part, either

God, or Mohammed, or Christ, or Moses, or any Prophet, was put to death without delay(1). A person accused of this crime was given no chance to repent.

In order to prove a wife guilty of adultery four eye-witnesses were necessary. If she was found guilty she was put to death by stoning. The Koran provided that if any person accused a woman of this crime and did not produce the four required witnesses, he should be sc ouged with eighty stripes and should ever after be regarded as a prevaricator unless he should repent. If a man accused his wife of adultery, he was required to swear four times that he spoke the truth, and the fifth time to call the curse of God upon him if he spoke not the truth. If the wife wished to declare her innocence she was required to swear four times that her husband was a liar, and the fifth time to call the wrath of God upon her head if her husband spoke the truth. In all such cases it was generally agreed that the marriage must be dissolved. Unmarried persons convicted of fornication were punished by scourging with a hundred stripes; a Sunneh law made them liable to the further ounishment of banishment for a whole year.(2)

Shafites or Malikites. A few belonged to the Hanafite persuasion. The inhabitants living east of the Delta were Shafites, those living on the Delta, Shafites with a few Malikites, and those living west of the Delta, Malikites. Very few belonged to the sect of the Hambelites.

(1). Clot-Bey, i, 523.
(2). Clot-Bey, i, 524. Lane, 110, 111.

Robbery or theft was punished by cutting off the right hand for the first offense; but a Sunneh law provided that the punishment was not to be inflicted if the value of the stolen property was less than a quarter of a deenar, The amputation of the left foot was the punishment for the second offense; of the left hand for the third, the right foot for the fourth; and for further offenses the criminal was to be beaten or flogged. The amputation of a hand did not apply in cases where perishable food was stolen. These punishments were not always inflicted during the regime of Mehemet Ali; more often hard manual labor was substituted as punishment for the first three offenses and death for the fourth. Many petty offenses were punished by beating the soles of the feet with the "kurbash", a whip made of a strip of hippopotamus hide hammered into a round form.(1)

Murder, according to the Koran, was punished by death; usually after the principle that the free should die for the free, the slave for the slave, and a woman for a woman. If the heirs of a murdered person consented, it was permissable for the criminal to pay to the family of the person killed a sum of money, which was to be divided among them according to the laws of inheritance. Unintentional homicide was expiated by freeing a believer from slavery and paying a fine to the heirs of the person killed. The peasantry frequently applied blood-revenge rather than apply to the government.(2)

Retaliation for intentional wounds took the form of"an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth". Fines were sometimes ac-

(1) Clot-Bey, i, 524, Lane, 110.
(2) Lane, 107, Clot-Bey, i, 524.

cepted. These were of varying amounts according to the severity of the crime.(1)

Apostasy was considered one of the most heinous of sins and was punished by death unless the apostate recanted. Several cases have been reported where the Pasha pardoned women for this crime. At one time the Europeans who resided in Cairo interceded in behalf of a woman. She was brought before the Pasha, who exhorted her to recant; but she remained firm in her convictions and the Pasha sent her home, commanding that she be left unharmed.(2).

Drunkenness had been punished by the Prophet with flogging. This practice was not often followed in Cairo, however. A free man accused of this crime was punishable with eighty stripes; a slave, forty.

The chief civil laws were those relating to marriage, polygamy, divorce, concubinage, inheritance and debt. In the Koran is found the following sentence: "Take in marriage, of the women who please you, two, three, or four; but if ye fear that ye cannot act equitably (to so many take) one; or, (take) those whom your right hand has acquired." It was therefore customary for many of the wealthy Muslims to have two, three, or four wives in addition to several concubine slaves.(3)

A man was allowed to divorce his wife twice and each time take her back. The only ceremony required in divorcing a woman was for the man to say. "Thou art divorced" or "I divorce thee". It was the custom for the husband to pay his divorced wife one third of her

(1) Lane, 109.
(2) Lane, 111, Clot-Bey, i, 524.
(3) Lane, 98-100.

dowry. For a woman to secure a divorce, it was necessary to make application to the Kadi's court. If a man were married to a rebellious woman who refused to obey him, he was privileged to take her or two witnesses before the Kadee to prefer a complaint against her. If he could prove his case he secured a declaration called nashizeh setting forth the shrewish qualities of his wife. The husband was now no longer forced to lodge, clothe and maintain her. It was not necessary for him to divorce her and so he might prevent her from marrying another man. If she should promise to submit to his will, he must take her back or divorce her.(1)

The laws of inheritance reveal many interesting details. A person was not permitted to bequeath a larger portion of his estate than a third unless he or she was without legal heirs. The children of a deceased person received all the property, subject to the payment of certain legacies and debts. Two or more female children inherited together, according to the Koran, two thirds. An only child received a half. If there were no other legal heirs, these daughters or daughter received the remaining one third or one half.(1)

The laws regarding debtors was very lenient. "If there be any debtor under difficulty (of paying his debt) let (his creditor) want till it be easy (for him to do it); but if ye remit it as alms it will be easier for you". Whenever a debt was contracted, a written statement of it was required which was attested by two men. For failure to pay debts, imprisonment was the penalty.(2)

(1) Lane, 105.
(2) Lane, 107

Chapter V.

The Administration of Justice.

In theory justice emanated from the sovereign alone. He named the first or highest judges who in turn chose their subordinates in the official hierarchy. It was the custom for the Sultan to send to Cairo every year the Great Kadi whose jurisdiction extended over the whole of Egypt.(1) The office of Kadi was often purchased privately from the government; hence no attention was paid to the qualifications of the applicant for that position. The only restrictions were that he be a man of some knowledge, an Osmanlee (i.e. a Turk) and of the sect of the Hanafites (2) The place where judgments were rendered was called the Mahkemeh or Palace of Judgment. In Cairo most of the cases were heard by the Naib or deputy Kadi . He was chosen by the Great Kadi from among the Ulema of Istambul. The function of the Great Kadi was to confirm the sentence of the Naib or the decision of the Mufti (or chief doctor of the law) of his own sect who was always present in Cairo and gave judgment in important cases.(3) The Naibs in general were unacquainted with the popular dialect of Egypt, and it was therefore necessary to rely on the Bash-Terjuman (or Chief Interpreter) who constantly resided in Cairo and was therefore thoroughly conversant with all court customs.(4).

The system of court procedure was unique and interesting. The first step in the long and involved process for any one who wished

(1) Clot-Bey, i, 525.
(2) Lane, 116
(3) Lane, 116
(4) Ibid

to bring suit was to apply to the Bash-Rusul (or chief of the bailiffs who makes arrests) for a Rasool or warrant for the arrest of the defendant. For this service the Rusul received a few piastres. The plaintiff and defendant then appeared before the Mahkemeh, and presented their case to one of the officers called Shahids who were under the authority of the Bash-Katib (chief secretary). The Shahid committed the case to writing and if it was of an unimportant nature and the accused consented to the justice of the suit, he would pass judgment. If, however, the case was of greater importance, the parties concerned were brought before the Naib; who after hearing the case advised them to obtain a fetwa or judicial decision from the Mufti of the sect of the Hanafites. The latter received a fee varying from ten to two hundred paistres. Cases of trifling importance were decided by the Naib alone. The more important cases were decided in the presence of the Kadi, the Naib and the Mufti of the Hanafites. The Mufti heard the case and pronounced the decision; the Kadi confirmed the actions of the Mufti by stamping the paper with his seal. In case the plaintiff had no witnesses, the accused might clear himself by placing his right hand on a copy of the Koran and taking this oath: "By God, the Great; by what is contained in this of the word of God". Two male witnesses or one man and one woman were required in any case and they had to be sworn to be of good repute by two other witnesses. The testimony of an infidel against a Moslem was not allowed in cases involving capital or heavy punishment, nor the testimony of a slave.(1)

(1) Lane, 117; Clot-Bey, i, 525.

In addition to the Makemeh already described there were five minor ones at Cairo, one at Boolak, and one at the Southern port, Masr el-Ateekah. They were presided over by a Shahid from the great Mahkemeh who acted as the deputy of the chief Kadi. Such matters as involved the sale of property, legacies, marriages, and divorce were decided in these minor tribunals. In every village or town there was a Kadi, usually a native, who decided cases either upon his own authority or that of a mufti. Sometimes a Kadi served two or more villages.(1)

There resided in Cairo four "Sheiks" or religious chiefs, one for each of the sects of the Moslems, the Hanafites, the Shafites, the Malikites and the Hambelites. They were usually chosen from the most learned of the body. The Sheik of the great mosque El-Azhar together with the other four sheiks, the Kadi, the Nakeeb el-Ashraf (chief of the Sherifs, or descendants of the Prophet) and several other persons made up the council of the Ulema (learned men). During the period of the ascendency of the Turkish Pashas and the Mameluke chiefs they had exerted a considerable influence in restricting their tyr anny. During Mehemet Ali's régime, however, their influence was negligible. The Sheiks often decided petty disputes which arose, since they were the chief Mufti of their sect. To their decision, the Pasha usually submitted cases involving the interpretation of the Koran or of the Traditions. Their decisions were not always followed, however. For instance, they ruled unfavorably on the practice of dissecting human bodies for anatomical purposes.

(1) Lane, 121

The Pasha disregarded their decision entirely.(1)

Consuls in Egypt had jurisdiction in cases involving citizens of their own country. All the principal European countries had agents in Egypt. To the consul's tribunal were carried all sorts of disputes. In passing judgment the consul was assisted by two or four assessors. The chief punishment for offenses were fines, imprisonment and exile, which were inflicted according to the gravity of the crime. In certain criminal cases, the accused was sent to Europe for trial.(2).

Fees were paid by the loser in the suit. In cases affecting the sale of property, a fee of two per cent was charged; in cases involving legacies, four per cent; and in cases of property or land where the cost of the property was known, two per cent. Not only did the Kadee receive fees, but it was necessary to pay the various other officials such as the Bash-Terjuman, the Bash-Rusul etc.(3)

What is to be said of the character of justice? Too often, it must be confessed, it was venal. The rank and wealth of an individual influenced the judge in making his decision and the Mufti and Naibs did not hesitate to accept bribes. False witnesses were often suborned. Since justice was not administered expeditiously, every opportunity was given for these nefarious practices. What good laws there were in the judicial compilations, and good customs, were often annulled by contradictory laws and by those who executed them.(4)

(1) Lane, 121 - 122.
(2) Mengin II, 266.
(3) Clot-Bey, i, 327, Lane, 118.
(4) Lane, 118. Clot-Bey, i, 526

Chapter VI.

Education.

No account of the government of Egypt would be complete without a consideration of the Pasha's activities in the field of education. At the time of the French expedition there were some schools and colleges of ancient type where medicine, geometry, astronomy, algebra, elocution, jurisprudence, grammar, geography, history, logic and music were taught. Cairo alone had a large library in its principal mosque, El Azhar. Numerous other schools were associated with the various mosques and supported by pious foundations. Under Mehemet Ali three classes of schools were established: (1) Primary Schools (2) Preparatory Schools (3) Special or Technical Schools. These were all organized under the Minister of Public Instruction. The primary schools were established in the provinces, forty in Lower and fifty-six in Upper Egypt. They were each composed of about a hundred pupils from the ages of eight to twelve. They were supposed to study three years and each year one third went out and were replaced by another contingent. In these schools the elements of arithmetic and the Arabic language were taught. The pupils for the two preparatory schools at Abouzabul and Alexandria were recruited from the primary schools. The Turkish language, mathematics, geography and history were taught in these two schools. The course covered a period of four years. The special schools were those described above,(1) intended for the army engineers, artillery, cavalry etc. All these pupils were lodged, fed and clothed at the Pasha's expense. They all received pay at the following rates: In the primary schools, for the first year five

(1) See pages 20, 21.

piastres a month (twenty-five cents); for the second year ten piastres, and for the third year fifteen piastres. In the secondary schools the pupils received the first year twenty piastres; the second year thirty and the third year thirty-five piastres a month. The pupils in the special schools received the first year forty piastres a month, the second year fifty, and the third year sixty, and the fourth year seventy. When a pupil entered a school he became the Pasha's property and could be sent at will into his counting houses, manufactories etc. For this reason education was hated by the natives, who took every precaution to keep their children from being enrolled in the Pasha's schools.(1)

In 1818 Mehemet Ali sent Hadji-Osman-Nourreddin, (Osman-Pasha) to Italy, France and England to be instructed in the sciences. Osman returned with a comprehensive plan for sending youths to Paris for the purpose of receiving instruction in the arts, sciences and public administration. This plan was carried out to some degree for between 1825 and 1834 over one hundred young men were sent to France(2). Most of these upon their return to Egypt entered the public service in various capacities. Many of them, however, were employed in such ordinary tasks as translating the ordonnances militaires into Turkish, instead of occupying the important public offices for which by reason of their special training they were fitted. Many of them for this reason enlisted in the Sultan's service, because of the greater chances of promotion and preferment.(3)

One of the more important institutions of learning was the college located at Kasserlyne. A medical school and hospital

(1) Clot-Bey, ii, 309
(2) Jomard, 44.
(3) St. John ii, 404.

was organized by Dr. Clot-Bey, a man who did much for education in Egypt. About 1200 students attended this college, all of whom were furnished board and lodging by the Pasha. French and Italian professors were first employed in teaching arithmetic, drawing etc., but later their places were filled by the more able pupils. It appears that little attention was paid to the health or morals of the pupils; in 1832 three hundred students were sent to the hospital at Abuzabel afflicted with syphilis, opthalmia, or itch.(1)

The school of medicine at Abouzabel was housed in a large square building which contained a museum, dissecting rooms, a theatre for lectures, a laboratory, a dispensary, store rooms, kitchens and baths in the European and Oriental styles. One side of the building was given over to a schoolroom which could accomodate two hundred boys. The rest of the building was occupied by a printing office which was kept busy with translations of European works on medicine. (2) The school was kept in good condition. The course of study included such subjects as history, geography, botany, chemistry, and the theory and practice of medicine. European professors were in charge of each department. They drew up the daily lessons in French, which were then translated into Arabic. The learned Sheiks then corrected grammatical errors and couched the lessons in the beauties of the Arabic language, after which they were printed and distributed. The medical course included practical work at the bedside as well as compounding and making medicines, and the use of the surgeon's knife. The school provided accomodations for two hundred students, and six hundred patients could be accomodated in the hospital.(3) The

(1) St. John, ii, 397.
(2) St.John, ii, 401
(3) St.John, ii, 402. Clot-Bey ii, 392

medical school was finally moved to Cairo where a large building was provided for it with accomodations for a thousand students and 1500 patients.

Adjoining the school of medicine at Abouzabel was a veterinary hospital and school, under the direction of a Frenchman. There were about two hundred pupils in attendance who upon completion of the course were sent to the various regiments. The school was first established at Rosetta but was later transferred to Abouzabel. M. Hamont was most active in its organization. It was again transferred at a later period, in order to be near the stud-breeding school at Choubrah.(1)

In the citadel was a school of music under the direction of a German professor. The Arabs showed much musical skill and ability. Bands were attached to all ships of war and to every regiment in the army.(2)

Those who desired training for religious work usually pursued a course in the mosque El-Azhar. Many who entered this ancient so-called university were very poorly prepared, some of them scarcely able to do more than read, write, and recite the Koran. The principal subjects taught in the university were rhetoric, logic, theology, grammatical inflection and syntax, the exposition of the Koran, the Traditions of the Prophet, and the complete science of jurisprudence based on the Koran and the Traditions. The students, when sufficiently advanced, became kadi, , mufti, imams of mosques, or schoolmasters in their native villages and towns. About a thousand pupils were in attendance. The professors received no salary.

(1) St. John, ii, 403. Clot-Bey, ii, 406.
(2) St. John, 400

After the confiscation of the land belonging to the mosque, Mehemet Ali paid only for the necessary repairs and the salaries of the principal officers.(1)

(1) Lane, 215; 211.

Chapter VII.

Local Administration.

The reforms in the local administration were introduced about 1826. This was the period when the French and their ideas dominated Egypt. In place of the old division of Egypt into four provinces, the country was now divided into seven. These were called moudiliks, at the head of which was a moudir. These in turn were divided into sixty-four mamourliks which were administerd by mamours. The mamourlikes were divided into nazirliks, headed by nazirs, and these were subdivided into communes or villages at the head of which the sheiks-el-beled were placed. Each official had a sort of control over every other, and a higher officer exercised surveillance over his inferior, from whom he received reports which he transmitted to his superior authority.(1) It was the function of the mamours to look after the cultivation of the soil. He indicated in each village the number of feddans that were to be cultivated with a certain kind of crop. He usually levied the quota of men destined for the military service or the public works.(2) The nazirs were responsible for the carrying out of the government's orders and were severely punished if they failed to do their duty.(3)

The Sheik-el-Beled had direct action on the fellahs. He was responsible for the full amount of the taxes levied on a village. If it did not yield the required amount, the Sheik was beaten for the default. The Sheiks were often influenced by bribes and the ties of relationship in their dealings with the inhabitants.(4)

(1) Mouriez, iii, 55-56.
(2) Clot-Bey, ii, 173.
(3) Ibid
(4) Ibid; Lane, 132.

Chapter VIII

Economic Enterprises.

No account of the government of Egypt would be complete which did not take into consideration the efforts made by the Pasha to stimulate industry. For these reforms had not only an important bearing on the revenues but also an ineffaçable effect on the economic life of the country in general. Probably nothing aroused more feeling than the establishment of government manufactories, some on a very large scale. French, Italian, Maltese, and Savoyard manufacturers were employed, as well as artisans from these lands, in setting up establishments of various kinds. No expense was spared in securing the very best of machinery from Europe. The Pasha desired to make his own muskets, ammunition and uniforms. He consequently established a foundry for the manufacture of brass guns at cairo, and manufactories of arms, accoutrements, and outfits for the army. His failure to discover coal made it necessary to import it. Iron and timber were also imported. At one time Mehemet Ali had some hopes of producing velvets like those made in Geneva and muslins which would not be inferior to those manufactured in England. He soon gave up these plans, however, for the destruction of the machinery and the consequent difficulty in repairing it, coupled with the fact that the product turned out was a very inferior article, made him see the futility of such high ambitions(1)

He next turned his attention to cotton mills. The culture of cotton had been introduced by the Pasha on the recommendation of M. Jamel in 1821. It rapidly grew to be an important product, ranking next to wheat.(2) Although he was opposed by the Turks, Mehemet

(1) St. John, ii, 409.
(2) Warburton, Crescent and Cross, ii, 330; St. John, ii, 423.

Ali erected cotton mills at Mehalet el-Kebin, at Mansoulah and at other points. At first only black slaves were employed; but the change in the manner of living so depleted their number that he was forced to use the fellahs.(1) Model spinning machines were purchased in France and England at great expense and upon these models other machines were made by the natives, working under the direction of M. Jumel, a professional spinner and mechanic.(2)

This socialistic scheme of government owned and controlled factories was rapidly extended to numerous other industries. Rice mills, tanneries, glass manufactories, cloth manufactories, saltpetre refineries, chemical works, pyrotechnical factories, bleaching mills, and numerous other establishments were set up in various parts of the country.

In the metropolis the mills were supplied with workmen furnished by the Sheiks of the different quarters of the city, who impressed boys and ignorant husbandmen into the factories. The fellahs disliked the factories. The conditions in which the men worked were as a rule unsanitary. Wages were scant and the insufficient food with which they were furnished made them subject to disease. The most severe punishments were meted out to those who tried to escape. The usual punishment was flogging with the koorbash, two to five hundred blows not being an unusual number. So intense was the hatred of the inhabitants toward the factories that they made innumerable attempts to burn them.(3)

The Arab was a skillful workman, as a rule. The least ob-

(1) St. John, ii, 410
(2) St. John ii, 411.
(3) St. John, ii, 412.

stacle, however, discouraged him. Without some one to watch him, everything was spoiled in his hand. The servile system under which he worked destroyed all feeling of emulation; he worked only to complete the allotted tasks. His attention was centered primarily upon not having a defect in his product, because the government docked his salary for any imperfections.(1) When the Pasha began to increase the number of workmen, twelve thousand in the cotton mills alone at one time, his revenue became inadequate; consequently he was forced to pay starvation wages.(2) The number of persons employed in the mills in April, 1833, was 6,000.(3)

Mehemet Ali was interested not only in factories but in public improvements as well. Probably the greatest achievement in this direction was the construction of the Canal Mahmoudieh. In the first years of the Pasha's rule it had been necessary for grain barges to sail from Rosetta across the bar with a favoring wind to Alexandria. In 1818 theViceroy decided to establish communication by water between the Nile and Alexandria, a distance of forty-five miles. The canal was completed by 1820 and was named after the Sultan Mahmoud. Of the 300,000 fellaheen engaged in this hydraulic undertaking, it has been estimated that 20,000 died from hunger and ill-usage.(4) In addition to this canal, a large number of smaller ones were constructed in different parts of the country.

(1) Houriez, ii, 67.
(2) St. Hohn, ii, 415
(3) St. John, ii, 417
(4) Houriez, ii, 90; Cameron, 126.

Chapter IX.

Conclusion.

After this consideration of the governmental machinery which existed in the days of Mehemet-Ali, as well as an inquiry into the various reforms effected by him, the question naturally arises, "what was the general condition of Egypt during this period? How did these innovations affect the native inhabitant?" A partial answer to these questions has been given already in connection with the working of the different institutions described. We are given an illuminating view of the actual situation in the report of Dr. (Sir John) Bowring on Egypt and Candia which was published as a Parliamentary Blue Book in 1840. He says,

"It would be difficult for a foreigner now coming to Egypt to form a just idea of the actual state of the country as compared with its former state. In regard to the general rise in prices, all the ground cultivated under the Mamelukes was employed for producing food - wheat, barley, beans etc., in immense quantities. The people reared fowls, sheep, goats etc., and the prices were one-sixth or even one - tenth of those at present. This continued till Mehemet Ali became Viceroy in 1805. From that period until the establishment of monopolies, prices have gradually increased; but the great increase has chiefly taken place since 1824, when the Pasha established his regular army, navy and factories."(1)

In 1842 occurred murrain of the cattle, followed by a Nile flood. This half ruined the country; in 1843 the locusts appeared and numerous villages were depopulated. A council from Cairo made a report on the condition of the country, which forms, says Mr. Cam-

(1) Quoted in Cameron, Egypt in the 19th. Century, 173.

eron, "the most damning native judgment on the pasha's failure as an administrator."(1) Mr. Paton adds, "The report showed that when one village had been depopulated and could not pay its taxes, the deficit was thrown on its neighbors; and the fisc was inexorable in insisting on the maximum. It went into minute details, proving that the magnificent public works carried on by unpaid labour were the chief cause of depopulation, and there is no doubt that this was one of the principal causes of the misery and exasperation of the people. Mehemet Ali, having ceased to recognize any landed property that was not his own would not admit that the peasants had a right even to their own labour. Slaves instead of freeholders was his motto."(2)

Mehemet Ali in his serious attempts made to improve the civilization of Egypt failed to recognize a principle which underlies all endeavors made in behalf of bettering the material welfare of a country. He disregarded all property rights and left no security to the inhabitants. He failed to see that the vicious system of recruiting men for the army and for the public works produced disgruntled and even antagonistic subjects. He did not see that the peasant was discouraged from improving his condition because he had a lack of confidence in the central government. As long as the country declined in numbers and resources, attempts to open roads, build public works, and make improvements generally would do very little to help the people to better their own condition. He was in many respects a"benevolent despoot". To sum up, the government, possessing itself of the necessities of life at prices fixed by

(1) Cameron, 199.
(2) Quoted in Cameron, 199.

itself, disposes of them at arbitrary prices. The fellah is thus deprived of his harvest and falls into arrears with his taxes, and is harassed and bastinadoed to force him to pay his debts. This leads to the deterioration of agriculture, and lessens the production. The Pasha, having imposed high taxes, has caused the high prices of the necessities of life."(1)

The increased revenues of the Pasha made it possible for him to perfect his army and navy. These he used to extend his possessions. In 1832 he conquered all Syria, pushed rapidly forward into Asia Minor and had clear visions of taking Constantianople itself. Then it was that the European powers entered to prevent the Sultan's dominion from being dismembered and to force Mehemet-Ali to come to terms. The European intervention of 1840 compelled Mehemet to acknowledge the supremacy of the Porte and to confine his rule to Egypt. But so great was the influence and power of the Pasha that he was able to have the title of viceroy made an hereditary one in his family.

Thus we have seen Mehemet Ali raising himself from the humblest rank of life to the highest. By a gradual series of internal reforms which increased his revenue, he was able to recruit an army and build a formidable fleet. These he used to oppose the Sultan and had it not been for the interference of Europe we might have seen him sitting on the Turkish throne.

(1) Cameron, 173.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTES.

Dr. Clot-Bey was one of the numerous Frenchmen whom Mehemet Ali called to his court to take charge of his educational reforms. He was instrumental in organizing the Medical School at Kasserlyne. His "Apercu Generale" is a very good account of the government of Egypt as well as a detailed description of the manners and customs of the natives. He is inclined to over-praise the Pasha and to gloss over the somewhat glaring defects in his economic and political system.

Cameron's book contains a fair, impartial account of Egypt based quite largely on Mengin, St.John, and Sir John Bowring's report on the condition of Egypt in 1840.

Jomard gives a short description of the actual state of Egypt in 1836.

Mengin's work is enriched with notes by M.M.Langle and Jomard. The economic enterprises of the Pasha are well treated. The book is especially valuable for its estimates of the Pasha's revenue.

Mouriez is not especially important for material bearing on the government of Mehemet Ali but is valuable for the discussion of political events during the reign, such as the Wahabis movement, the massacre of the Mamelukes, and the Syrian Campaign. It is valuable also for its notes.

Stanley Lane Poole calls Lane's book "the most perfect picture of a people's life that has ever been written". This is, of course, a somewhat high tribute, yet very much could be present-

ed in favor of the position, although it must be remembered that Poole was a relative of Lane's and in a certain sense a disciple. Lane made his first trip to Egypt in 1825; the three following years were spent in Egyptian and Nubian travel. In 1833 he visited Egypt again, remaining there about two years. We are informed by Poole that Lane was able"to mix among the people as one of themselves, and to acquire not only the refinements of idiomatic speech and the minute details of their etiquette, but also a perfect insight into their habits of mind and ways of thought. The Spirit of the East is a sealed book to ninety-nine out of every hundred Orientalists. To Lane it was transparent. He knew the inner manners of the Egyptian's mind, as well as those of his outer life."

Scott has written a book of travel, and its main importance consists in the observations madeupon the economic system of Mehemet Ali.

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